

Recontextualizing Grammar: Underlying trends in thirty years of Cognitive Linguistics

Dirk Geeraerts

1. Cognitive Linguistics: radial set or schematic network?

Cognitive Linguistics is a success: from the relatively marginal position that it originally occupied in the linguistic landscape, it has developed into one of the mainstream trends in current linguistics. A search on the strings “cognitive linguistics” and “cognitive grammar”, in contrast with “generative linguistics” and “generative grammar” in the LLBA bibliography, broken down over four periods of five years starting in 1988, yields the figures presented in Table 1. Although the search terms could be extended to get a more complete picture, the present figures already indicate with sufficient force that Cognitive Linguistics seems to be overtaking the generativist enterprise in terms of scholarly productivity and appeal.

This conspicuous success raises the question whether there is a common denominator in the expansion of Cognitive Linguistics? A cursory inspection would seem to suggest that the internal evolution of Cognitive Linguistics is of the radial network type (to put the matter in an appropriate terminology). A number of core ideas – like grammatical construal, prototypicality, radial networks, ICMs, conceptual integration, constructions – are pursued and developed rather independently of each other, to the extent that each of them constitutes a mini research programme of its own. But what is it that keeps these separate approaches together – if anything?

Table 1. The presence of Cognitive Linguistics and Generative Grammar in the LLBA from 1998 to 2007 (figures as of October 15, 2007)

	88–92	93–97	98–02	03–07
<i>generative grammar / linguistics</i>	304	538	337	296
<i>cognitive grammar / linguistics</i>	81	337	376	916

1 In Geeraerts 2006a, written as an introduction to a collection of basic
 2 readings in Cognitive Linguistics, two principles of cohesion were men-
 3 tioned. On the one hand, the central concepts of Cognitive Linguistics
 4 are mutually related because they derive from a common set of underlying
 5 fundamentals: the principle that language is all about meaning, in the
 6 broadest possible sense, in combination with four specific assumptions
 7 about the nature of linguistic meaning – that meaning is flexible and
 8 dynamic, that it is encyclopedic and non-autonomous, that it is based on
 9 usage and experience, and that it is perspectival in nature. On the other
 10 hand, repeating a point originally formulated in Geeraerts (2003), it was
 11 suggested that the various strands of Cognitive Linguistics belong together
 12 because they exhibit various ways of recontextualizing the study of lan-
 13 guage. In this sense (once again applying the models of categorization
 14 developed in Cognitive Linguistics), we can not only say that the various
 15 branches of Cognitive Linguistics constitute a radial network, but also
 16 that there is a schematic commonality over and above the radial structure.

17 In the present paper, the recontextualizing nature of Cognitive Linguis-
 18 tics is further analyzed: the paper will present the different parts of the
 19 recontextualization in more detail, and it will show that the internal de-
 20 velopment of the framework and the chronological steps in the gradual
 21 elaboration of the radial set structure are guided by the recontextualiza-
 22 tion programme.

23 This analysis will lead to a brief consideration of a further question
 24 that arises from the success of Cognitive Linguistics: to what extent is the
 25 manifest success of Cognitive Linguistics also a threat? Under which con-
 26 ditions could the very wealth of the research undermine the unity of the
 27 approach? Or conversely, would the conceptual unity that we may discern
 28 if we look at the evolution of Cognitive Linguistics be sufficient to main-
 29 tain its success?

30 As a practical introductory remark, it should be noted that the present
 31 paper is a highly synthetic one that assumes familiarity with the basic con-
 32 cepts of Cognitive Linguistics. The purpose is to reveal an underlying but
 33 largely unheeded pattern in the rich variety of approaches in Cognitive
 34 Linguistics, not to present these approaches as such. Discovering such a
 35 pattern, to the extent that it is successful, will be important for the decision
 36 how to further elaborate Cognitive Linguistics. But it also serves a more
 37 immediate, didactic purpose: it may help to introduce the full breadth
 38 of research in Cognitive Linguistics within a synthetic and systematic
 39 framework.

40

2. Decontextualization and recontextualization in 20th century linguistics

If we are interested in what drives the development of Cognitive Linguistics and keeps its various branches together, we may start by trying to determine what distinguishes Cognitive Linguistics from other approaches in modern linguistics. How does Cognitive Linguistics fit into the development of theoretical linguistics? An answer to that question requires an insight into the basic lines of evolution of modern linguistics. So, if we were to present the history of 20th century linguistics in a nutshell, what would be the main lines of its development? Would it at all be possible to synthesize a century of theoretical development into a few pages? The following pages will try to identify some of the main lines in the development of 20th century linguistics, arguing that this development is characterized by a succession of a decontextualising and a recontextualizing movement.

Obviously, there is a price to pay for the attempt to cover such a vast domain. For one thing, we will be able to focus only on the mainstream developments in the international scene of linguistics, disregarding local traditions, isolated individual achievements, avant-gardes and rearguards. For another, a historiographical programme of this type basically takes the form of a logical reconstruction: can we retrospectively find a perspective that brings order into the apparent chaos? To what extent does the development lend itself to a rational reconstruction, where the different steps in the development are interpreted as an elaboration of a basic research question? Such a rational reconstruction implies that hardly any attention can be given to the actual biographical factors and the sociological interactions. Also, the analysis presented here does not claim to be the only possible one. We will take our starting-point in the differences between the Saussurean dichotomy of *langue* and *parole* and the Chomskyan dichotomy of competence and performance, but that does not rule out the possibility that the story could be told with a different point of departure and from a different point of view.

2.1. Gaps in the system: Saussure and Chomsky

The Saussurean dichotomy between *langue* and *parole* creates an internally divided grammar, a conception of language with, so to speak, a hole in the middle. On the one hand, *langue* is defined as a social system, a set of collective conventions, a common code shared by a community:

1 Mais qu'est-ce que la langue? ... C'est à la fois un produit social de la
 2 faculté du langage et un ensemble de conventions nécessaires, adoptées par
 3 le corps social pour permettre l'exercice de cette faculté chez les individus
 4 [But what is language? ... It is at the same time a social product of the
 5 language faculty and a collection of necessary conventions adopted by a
 6 community to allow individuals to use that faculty] (1976: 25).

7 On the other hand, parole is an individual, psychological activity that con-
 8 sists of producing specific combinations from the elements that are present
 9 in the code:

10
 11 La parole est au contraire un acte individuel de volonté et d'intelligence,
 12 dans lequel il convient de distinguer 1) les combinaisons par lesquelles le
 13 sujet parlant utilise le code de la langue en vue d'exprimer sa pensée per-
 14 sonnelle 2) le mécanisme psycho-physique qui lui permet d'extérioriser ces
 15 combinaisons [Speech on the other hand is a deliberate and intelligent
 16 individual act, in which we can distinguish, first, the combinations by means
 17 of which the individual subject uses the code of the language to express his
 18 personal thought, and second, the psycho-physical mechanism that allows
 19 him to exteriorize those combinations] (1967: 30).

20 When langue and parole are defined in this way, there is a gap between
 21 both: what is the mediating factor that bridges the distance between the
 22 social and the psychological, between the community and the individual,
 23 between the system and the application of the system, between the code
 24 and the actual use of the code?

25 The Chomskyan distinction between competence and performance for-
 26 mulates the fundamental answer to this question: the missing link between
 27 the social code and the individual usage is the individual's knowledge of
 28 the code. Performance is basically equivalent with parole, but competence
 29 interiorizes the notion of linguistic system: competence is the internal
 30 grammar of the language user, the knowledge that the language user has
 31 of the linguistic system and that he puts to use in actual performance.

32 Remarkably, however, Chomsky introduces a new gap into the system.
 33 Rather than the trichotomy that one might expect, he restricts his concep-
 34 tion of language to a new dichotomy: the social aspects of language are
 35 largely ignored. In comparison with a ternary distinction distinguishing
 36 between langue, competence, and parole/performance (between social sys-
 37 tem, individual knowledge of the system, and actual use of the system),
 38 the binary distinction between competence and performance creates a
 39 new empty slot, leaving the social aspects of language largely out of sight.

40 Figure 1 schematically summarizes the Saussurean and the Chomskyan
 positions, highlighting the systematic relationship between both. The ques-

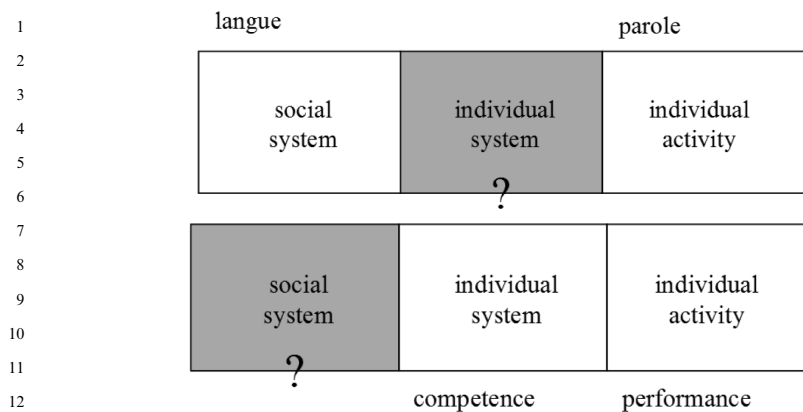


Figure 1. Schematic representation of the gaps in the Saussurean (upper picture) and Chomskyan (lower picture) conception of language

tion marks indicate those aspects of language that disappear in either of the two approaches. Relegating the social nature of language to the background, in the Chomskyan approach, correlates with a switch towards the phylogenetic universality of language. The Chomskyan emphasis on the genetic nature of natural language links up rationally with his apparent lack of interest for language as a social semiotic. Where, in particular, does the individual knowledge of the language come from? If the source of linguistic knowledge is not social, what else can it be than an innate and universal endowment? If the language is not learned through acculturation in a linguistic community (given that a language is not primarily a social code), what other source could there be for linguistic knowledge except genetics?

2.2. The decontextualization of grammar

The link between the Chomskyan genetic perspective and the absence of any fundamental interest in language as a social phenomenon engenders a stepping-stone development, leading by an internal logic to an isolation of the grammar. Let us go through the argument in the form of the following chain of (deliberately succinct and somewhat simplistic) propositions.

First, if natural language is not primarily social, it has to be genetic. This is the basic proposition that was described in the previous paragraph. The relationship could of course be construed in the other direction as well. As presented above, the Chomskyan predilection for a genetic per-

1 spective in linguistics follows from his lack of interest for the social side of
 2 language. But in actual historical fact, Chomsky's preference for a genetic
 3 conception of language probably grew more from his discussion with
 4 behaviorist learning theory (Skinner in particular) than from a confronta-
 5 tion with Saussure. Because the amazing ability of young children to
 6 acquire language cannot be explained on the basis of a stimulus-response
 7 theory – so the argument goes – an innate knowledge of language has to
 8 be assumed. But if one of the major features of language is its genetic
 9 nature, then of course the social aspects of language are epiphenomenal.
 10 Regardless of the direction in which the link is construed, however, the
 11 effects are clear.

12 Second, if natural language is primarily a genetic entity, semantics or
 13 the lexicon cannot be part of the core of language (or the core business of
 14 linguistics). Meanings constitute the variable, contextual, cultural aspects
 15 of language par excellence. Because social interaction, the exchange of
 16 ideas, changing conceptions of the world are primarily mediated through
 17 the meaning of linguistic expressions, it is unlikely that the genetic aspects
 18 of language will be found in the realm of meaning. Further, if the lexicon
 19 is the main repository of linguistically encoded meaning, studying the
 20 lexicon is of secondary importance. Here as before, though, it should
 21 be pointed out that the actual historical development is less straight-
 22 forward than the reconstruction might suggest. The desemanticization of
 23 the grammar did not happen at once (nor was it absolute, for that matter).
 24 Triggered by the introduction of meaning in the “standard model” of
 25 generative grammar (Chomsky 1965), the “Linguistic Wars” (see Harris
 26 1995) of the late 1960s that opposed Generative Semantics and Interpre-
 27 tive Semantics basically involved the demarcation of grammar with regard
 28 to semantics. The answer that Chomsky ultimately favoured implied a
 29 restrictive stance with regard to the introduction of meaning into the
 30 grammar, but this position was certainly not reached in one step; it was
 31 prepared by severe debates in the generativist community.

32 Third, if semantics or the lexicon cannot be part of the core of lin-
 33 guistics, linguistics will focus on formal rule systems. The preference for
 34 formal syntax that characterizes generative grammar follows from the
 35 fact that generative grammar links up with cognitive science as it origi-
 36 nated in the late 1950s and the 1960s, which sees knowledge as a set of
 37 internal symbolic representations, and mental processing as internal sym-
 38 bol manipulation. The Chomskyan emphasis on the formal syntax fits in
 39 with the symbol manipulation paradigm that was dominant in cognitive
 40

1 science. But it also follows by elimination from generative grammar's
 2 genetic orientation: formality is required to restrict the impact of meaning,
 3 and studying syntax (or more generally, the rule-based aspects of lan-
 4 guage) correlates with the diminished interest in the lexicon. It should be
 5 added that the focus on rules is not only determined by a negative attitude
 6 with regard to meanings, but also by a focus on the infinity of language:
 7 language as an infinite set of sentences requires a rule system that can gen-
 8 erate an infinity of entities. (At this point, an additional undercurrent in
 9 the history of 20th century linguistics crops up: the relationship between
 10 linguistics and logic. Chomsky, in fact, got the inspiration for his concep-
 11 tion of linguistic rule systems from the architecture of logical proof theory.
 12 This is not a line to be pursued here, though.)

13 Finally, if linguistics focuses on formal rule systems, the application of
 14 the rule systems in actual usage is relatively uninteresting. If the rules
 15 define the grammar, it is hard to see what added value could be derived
 16 from studying the way in which the rules are actually put to use. The study
 17 of performance, in other words, is just as secondary as research into the
 18 lexicon.

19 This chain of consequences leads to a decontextualisation of the gram-
 20 mar. It embodies a restrictive strategy that separates the autonomous
 21 grammatical module from different forms of context. Without further
 22 consideration of the interrelationship between the various aspects of the
 23 decontextualising drift, the main effects can be summarized as follows.
 24 First, through the basic Chomskyan shift from langue to competence,
 25 linguistics is separated from the social context of language as a social
 26 code. Second, through the focus on the genetic aspects of the language,
 27 linguistics is separated from the cognitive context that shows up in the
 28 semantic side of the language. Third, through the focus on formal rule
 29 systems, linguistics is separated from the situational context of actual
 30 language use. And fourth, these two last features tend to favour the study
 31 of formal syntactic rules over the study of the lexicon.

33 2.3. *Trends towards recontextualization*

34
 35 In terms of the subdisciplines covered by linguistics, this means that the
 36 core of linguistics in Chomskyan terms disfavours the study of language
 37 in its social context, any model of language in which semantics or the
 38 lexicon is at the heart of the grammar, and the investigation of language
 39 in actual usage. This does not mean, however, that these areas of research,
 40

1 which would be considered peripheral from the generativist point of view,
 2 were totally non-existent in the heyday of generative grammar. In fact, the
 3 generativist era witnessed the birth of approaches that autonomously
 4 developed the aspects that were rejected or downplayed by generative
 5 grammar. A brief overview may suffice to establish that the period from
 6 the late 1960s to the 1980s constitutes a crucial period for the development
 7 of sociolinguistics, pragmatics, and semantics: if we look at what would
 8 now be considered foundational publications for the approaches in ques-
 9 tion, we see that they are situated precisely in the period from the mid
 10 1960s to the mid 1980s. (If the main factors that were dispelled by gen-
 11 erative grammar are meaning, the lexicon, language use, and the social
 12 context of language, then the approaches mentioned here cover three out
 13 of four factors. Lexicology, in fact, did not boom as a separate discipline
 14 in the way the other three did.)

15 Sociolinguistics in its present form (including the sociology of language,
 16 the ethnography of speaking, and sociohistorical linguistics, next to socio-
 17 linguistics in the narrow, Labovian sense) came into existence with works
 18 such as Labov (1972), Haugen (1966), Weinreich, Labov and Herzog
 19 (1968), Gumperz and Dell Hymes (1972).

20 Pragmatics as a separate discipline started off in the wake of Grice
 21 (1975) and Austin (1962). In seminal works such as Stalnaker (1974) or
 22 Gazdar (1979), a Gricean, logically inspired form of pragmatics saw the
 23 light, focusing on questions of presupposition, conversational implicature,
 24 and contextual interpretation. In the same period, Searle (1969) developed
 25 Austin's approach into speech act theory. Somewhat later, a broader type
 26 of discourse linguistics and conversational analysis was introduced by
 27 Coulthard (1977), Gumperz (1982), Brown and Yule (1983), or Tannen
 28 (1984), to name just a few of the early works.

29 Semantics received a major impetus through the development of formal
 30 semantics, as in Montague (1974), Partee (1979), Dowty (1979). Build-
 31 ing on the achievements of formal logic, formal semantics is a type of
 32 meaning-based grammar, but the conception of meaning that lies at the
 33 basis of formal semantics is restricted to the referential, truth-theoretical
 34 aspects of meaning. (In this sense, it is a more or less restricted form of
 35 semantics. Later developments like Cognitive Linguistics will take a less
 36 restrictive approach to meaning, as we will see.)

37 In short, the decontextualising, autonomist attitude of generative gram-
 38 mar was to some extent compensated by the development of disciplines
 39 that explore the aspects of language that are relegated to the background
 40

1 by generative grammar. The works quoted above are indicative of the
 2 initial stages in the development of these disciplines: anyone familiar with
 3 the history of contemporary linguistics will recognize that each of them
 4 flourished afterwards. With the exception of formal semantics (specifically
 5 in its association with categorial grammar), these approaches are not
 6 models of the grammar, if we think of the grammar as the description of
 7 the internal structure of the language. As separate disciplines (or, at best,
 8 as separate “modules” in a modular conception of language) sociolinguistics
 9 and pragmatics developed alongside grammatical theory rather than
 10 interacting with it intensively. This suggests that the recuperation of the
 11 contextual aspects rejected by generative grammar can be carried one
 12 step further, if the study of context does not take the form of a set of
 13 separate disciplines but if context features are introduced into the heart
 14 of the grammar. This is exactly what is happening in a number of more
 15 recent trends in linguistics.

16 From roughly 1980 onwards, a number of developments in linguistics
 17 appear to link the grammar more closely to the contextual aspects that
 18 were severed by generative theorizing. The peripheral aspects – meaning,
 19 the lexicon, language use, the social context of language – that were being
 20 developed largely separately and autonomously, are now being linked up
 21 more narrowly with the grammar itself. The following overview of the
 22 relevant tendencies will again be brief and schematic. Its main purpose is
 23 to point out the existence of the trends, not to describe them in much
 24 detail. This also means, for instance, that no attention will be paid to the
 25 overlap that may exist between different tendencies.

26 The reintroduction of the lexicon into the grammar is probably the
 27 most widespread of the tendencies to be mentioned here; it is, in fact,
 28 relatively clear within generative grammar itself. This lexicalist tendency
 29 in grammatical theory is triggered by the recognition that describing
 30 grammatical rules appears to imply describing the lexical sets that the
 31 rules apply to. Reversing the descriptive perspective then leads to a
 32 description of the valency of the lexical items (i.e. the structures that an
 33 item can appear in). The lexicalist tendency appears in various forms in
 34 the more formal approaches to grammar: one may think of the projections
 35 and theta-roles of generative grammar, of the central role of the lexicon in
 36 Lexical Functional Grammar (Bresnan 2001), and of the lexically driven
 37 grammar developed in the framework of Head-driven Phrase Structure
 38 Grammar (Sag, Wasow and Bender 2003). Hudson’s Word Grammar
 39 (1991) is a functionally oriented type of lexical grammar.

40

1 Approaches that give meaning a major, if not dominant, role in linguistics were not restricted to formal semantics. As we mentioned already, within generative grammar, the Generative Semantics movement had to give way to the supremacy of the semantically restricted Chomskyan approach. But parallel to generative grammar, a cluster of functionalist approaches to grammatical description gave pride of place to meaning. This holds true for Functional Grammar as defined by Dik (1989), for the functional-typological approaches developed by Givon (1979), and for Halliday's Systemic Functional Linguistics (1994), to mention only the most important representatives.

11 Typically, these approaches take a broad view of meaning, i.e. they include pragmatics: in all forms of functional linguistics, discursive and interactional communicative functions are seen as essential features of natural language. For instance, a number of functionalist approaches try to find (potentially universal) discourse motivations for grammatical constructs. Discourse is then no longer the mere application of grammatical rules, but the grammatical rules themselves are motivated by the discourse functions that the grammar has to fulfill. The existence of passives in a given language, for instance, is explained as a topicalization mechanism: grammars contain passives because topicalizing direct objects is a useful function in discourse. Seminal publications within this approach include Givon (1979), Hopper and Thompson (1980), Hopper (1987).

23 The communicative aspect inherent in this family of functional approaches also means that the social aspects of language are explicitly recognized. If language is primarily seen as an instrument for communicative interaction, a social conception of language is automatically implied. Within the group of functionalist frameworks, Systemic Functional Linguistics is the one that most distinctly follows up on this social conception of language. Thinking about language in social, interactional terms suggests that the systemic descriptive and theoretical framework might be particularly suited for socially oriented types of linguistic investigation. In practice, this shows up in the many studies in Systemic Functional Linguistics that are geared towards the analysis of text and discourse from a social perspective (see e.g. Eggins 1994; Thomson 1994). Not surprisingly, the methodology of Systemic Functional Linguistics has also been embraced by Critical Discourse Analysis (Fairclough 1995). At the same time, this social perspective in Systemic Functional Linguistics seems to be restricted primarily to the study of text types and register differences, without a lot of attention for language-internal variation of a lexical or sociolinguistic kind.

3. Cognitive Linguistics as a recontextualizing approach

It is not difficult to establish that the four elements of context that we mentioned earlier (meaning, the lexicon, discourse and use, and the social context) receive particular attention in Cognitive Linguistics.

Meaning – Cognitive Linguistics constitutes an outspoken attempt to give meaning a central position in the architecture of the grammar. The basic vocabulary of the cognitive framework involves semantics: the notion of prototype, schematic network, conceptual metaphor, metonymy, conceptual integration, idealized cognitive models, frames, and all sorts of construal mechanisms are semantic notions. Crucially, these semantic concepts involve a contextualized view of semantics. There are several ways of making that clear.

To begin with, if we compare Cognitive Linguistics with formal semantics, it is obvious that the conception of meaning that lies at the basis of the cognitive approach is not restricted to a referential, truth-functional type of meaning. Linguistic structures are thought to express conceptualizations, i.e. conceptualization is central for linguistic structure – and conceptualization goes further than mere reference. It involves imagery in the broadest sense of the word: ways of making sense, of imposing meaning.

Further, if we come down from this very general level and look more closely into the semantic concepts in question, we can see that they systematically refer to various contextualized forms of meaning. Cognitive Linguistics embodies a fully contextualized conception of meaning in that its central semantic concepts describe different ways in which the conceptualizations that are expressed in the language have an experiential basis: the type of relevant context is different for various central concepts.

Prototypicality effects and the various aspects of categorial polysemy, including conceptual mechanisms like metonymy and metaphor, derive from the fact that new knowledge is constituted against the background of existing cognitive and linguistic categories: existing categories provide a context for the development of new nuances and extended meanings.

Frames in the Fillmorean sense, Idealized Cognitive Models, and mental spaces in the sense of conceptual integration theory (a.k.a. blending) represent the idea that linguistically relevant knowledge is structured knowledge of the world: language has to be seen in the context of encyclopedic cognition, and not as an autonomous realm of the mind.

Mechanisms of grammatical construal like figure/ground perspectivization implement the idea that linguistic meaning has to be studied in corre-

1 lation with general cognitive mechanisms, like the gestalt features of
 2 knowledge in the case of figure/ground alignment.

3 The neural theory of language developed by Lakoff shows that the em-
 4 bodied nature of language is not only considered in a psychological sense
 5 (focusing on individual experience in a phenomenological sense), but also
 6 in the most literal sense possible: the neural embodiment of the mind in
 7 the brain constitutes the material context of natural language semantics.

8 *Lexicon* – From very early on, treating grammatical categories according
 9 to the model provided by the lexicon was a natural thing to do in
 10 Cognitive Linguistics: if meaning description is the focus of Cognitive Lin-
 11 guistics, and if the models for the description of meaning were primarily
 12 developed in the realm of lexical semantics, it is no surprise to find that
 13 notions of prototypicality and polysemy were applied to grammatical
 14 categories. But it is only with the rise of Construction Grammar (Goldberg
 15 1995; Croft 2001; Langacker 2005) that the lexicalization of the grammar
 16 becomes outspoken, because it is only at that point that the lexicon begins
 17 to play a role on the form side of the grammatical description.

18 There are two aspects to be mentioned. First, the concept of a construc-
 19 tion introduces lexical material into the notion of a grammatical entity.
 20 Constructions of the “let alone” type (Fillmore, Kay and O’Connor
 21 1988) constitute combinations of specific words and abstract patterns.
 22 Second, while not all constructions need be of this mixed type (e.g. the
 23 ditransitive construction does not include specific lexical materials), there
 24 is no a priori dividing line between the lexically specific and the abstract
 25 patterns. Between fully lexicalized formal units (words and idioms) and
 26 patterns that can only be described in terms of abstract grammatical cate-
 27 gories (like traditional immediate constituent analyses), there are inter-
 28 mediate entities at different levels of abstraction. In this sense, lexicon
 29 and grammar are integrated, as different levels of abstraction in an inven-
 30 tory of constructional patterns.

31 *Language use and discourse* – The most immediate type of discourse-
 32 related investigation in Cognitive Linguistics is the study of all kinds of
 33 pragmatic and discursive phenomena, like discourse particles and pragmatic
 34 markers (Fischer 2000), information structure (Sanders and Spooren 2007),
 35 grounding (Brisard 2002), Current Discourse Space (Langacker 2001),
 36 etc. – the references are indicative only. A recent development along these
 37 lines is the investigation of blending phenomena as on-line meaning con-
 38 struction, as in Coulson (2006).

39 However, there is a more fundamental link between Cognitive Linguis-
 40 tics and the study of performance: more and more, Cognitive Linguistics

1 conceives of itself as a usage-based approach to language. According to a
 2 number of programmatic accounts of usage-based linguistics (Bybee and
 3 Hopper 2001; Kemmer and Barlow 2000; Langacker 1999; Tomasello
 4 2000; Verhagen and Van de Weijer 2003), the essential idea of a usage-
 5 based linguistics is the dialectic nature of the relation between language
 6 use and the language system. The grammar does not only constitute a
 7 knowledge repository to be employed in language use, but it is also itself
 8 the product of language use. The former perspective considers usage
 9 events as specific, actual instantiations of the language system. According
 10 to this view, one can gain insight into the language system by analyzing
 11 the usage events that instantiate it. This is a strong motivation for empirical
 12 research: the usage data constitute the empirical foundation from
 13 which general patterns can be abstracted. The latter perspective considers
 14 usage events as the empirical source of the system. From this point of
 15 view, usage events define and continuously redefine the language system
 16 in a dynamic way. As a result, every usage event may slightly redefine a
 17 person's internal language system.

18 The consequences of such a position are both thematic and methodo-
 19 logical. Thematically speaking, a usage-based approach fosters interest in
 20 specific topics and fields of investigation. For instance, it follows from
 21 the dialectic relationship between structure and use that the analysis of
 22 linguistic change (Bybee 2007) is a natural domain of application for any
 23 usage-based approach. Similarly, literary analysis from a cognitive point
 24 of view (Freeman 2007; Brône and Vandaele 2009) ensues naturally from
 25 an interest in language use: if the analysis of discourse is a legitimate (and,
 26 in fact, important) goal for Cognitive Linguistics, cognitive poetics is
 27 likely to emerge as the study of the very specific type of discourse repre-
 28 sented by literary texts. This holds more generally for cognitive stylistics
 29 in its various forms (Semino and Culpeper 2002).

30 Further, interesting perspectives for language acquisition research open
 31 up: the usage-based approach holds the promise of answering the acquisi-
 32 tion problem that looms large in the Chomskyan delimitation of linguis-
 33 tics. In the work done by Tomasello and his group (2003), an alternative
 34 is presented for the Chomskyan genetic argument. These researchers
 35 develop a model of language acquisition in which each successive stage is
 36 (co)determined by the actual knowledge and use of the child at a given
 37 stage, i.e. language acquisition is described as a series of step by step
 38 usage-based extensions of the child's grammar. The grammar, so to speak,
 39 emerges from the child's interactive performance.

40 At the same time, there are methodological consequences: you cannot

1 have a usage-based linguistics unless you study actual usage – as it appears
 2 in an online and elicited form in experimental settings or as it appears in
 3 its most natural form in corpora in the shape of spontaneous, non-elicited
 4 language data. We can indeed see that the interest in corpus-based and
 5 experimental studies is growing, but it would be an exaggeration to say
 6 that it has become the standard approach in Cognitive Linguistics (cf.
 7 Geeraerts 2006a; Tummers, Heylen and Geeraerts 2005).

8
 9 *Social context* – There are four, more or less hierarchically ordered
 10 levels at which Cognitive Linguistics pays explicit attention to the social
 11 nature of language. The first level is that of language as such: the defini-
 12 tion and the basic architecture of language are recognized as involving
 13 not just cognition, but socially and culturally situated cognition. The type
 14 of work produced from this perspective emphasizes and analyzes the way
 15 in which the emergence of language as such and the presence of specific
 16 features in a language can only be adequately conceived of if one takes
 17 into account the socially interactive nature of linguistic communication.
 18 Examples of this strand of research include Sinha (2000, 2007) on lan-
 19 guage as an epigenetic system, Zlatev (2005) on situated embodiment,
 20 Itkonen (2003) on the social nature of the linguistic system, Verhagen
 21 (2005) on the central role of intersubjectivity in language, and Harder
 22 (2003) on the socio-functional background of language.

23 Taking one step towards a more specific approach, the next level is that
 24 of variation among languages and cultures. This is the oldest form of a
 25 social perspective in Cognitive Linguistics: the notion of *cultural model*
 26 played a significant role in the emergence of the new framework. How-
 27 ever, a tension existed between a more universalist approach and a more
 28 culturally oriented approach. A typical case in point is the discussion
 29 between Geeraerts and Grondelaers (1995) on the one hand and Kövecses
 30 (1995) on the other regarding the nature of ANGER IS HEAT metaphors:
 31 while the former emphasized the culturally specific and historically con-
 32 tingent nature of such metaphorical patterns, the former defended a
 33 universalist, physiologically grounded position. In recent years, however,
 34 the socio-cultural perspective has been gaining ground: see Palmer (1996)
 35 and, very explicitly, Kövecses (2005). In practical terms, this type of socio-
 36 cultural investigation takes the form of a historical investigation into
 37 changing conceptualizations within a given language or culture, or of
 38 cultural and anthropological comparisons. Within the latter group, we can
 39 also place the flourishing research tradition of cross-linguistic and cross-
 40 cultural investigation into the relationship between language and thought,

1 as illustrated by works like Slobin (1996), Boroditsky (2000) and Levinson
2 (2003).

3 The third level considers not variation between languages, but variation
4 within languages: to what extent do the phenomena that we typically
5 focus on in Cognitive Linguistics exhibit variation within the same lin-
6 guistic community? The research conducted within this approach links up
7 with the research traditions of sociolinguistics, dialectology, and stylistic
8 analysis, using the same type of meticulous empirical research methods:
9 see Kristiansen and Dirven (2008). This attempt to bring grammatical
10 analysis and variationist research closer together cannot be disentangled
11 from the usage-based perspective mentioned above. Usage-based and
12 meaning-based models of grammar introduce more variation into the
13 grammar than a rule-based approach tends to do: the language-internal
14 or discourse-related factors that influence the use of a particular construc-
15 tion may be manifold, and the presence or absence of a construction is not
16 an all-or-none matter. In the analysis of this type of variation, it often
17 appears that the variation is co-determined by “external”, sociolinguistic
18 factors: the variation that appears in actual usage (as attested in corpora)
19 may be determined simultaneously by grammatical, discursive, and socio-
20 linguistic factors. Disentangling those different factors, then, becomes
21 one methodological endeavour: in the actual practice of a usage-based
22 enquiry, grammatical analysis and variationist analysis will go hand in
23 hand.

24 At this level, there is also a less descriptive and more critical form of
25 Cognitive Linguistics to be mentioned – a form of analysis, in other
26 words, that not only intends to describe but that also takes an evaluative
27 stance. The best known example is Lakoff’s study of metaphorical models
28 of the family exploited in a political context (1996). This work led to his
29 practical interest in the “framing” of public issues (and to his active
30 involvement in US political debate). Lakoff’s work, though highly visible,
31 is not the only one in this domain. There is a growing body of research on
32 ideology (see Dirven, Polzenhagen and Wolf 2007), and in works such as
33 Chilton (2004), Musolff (2006), Hart and Lukes (2007), we witness an
34 exciting convergence between “critical” Cognitive Linguistics and the
35 older British tradition of Critical Discourse Analysis.

36 The final and most specific level overlaps with the discourse related
37 approach mentioned above: this is the level where actual conversations
38 and communicative exchanges are analyzed from a socially interactionist
39 point of view. In the context of socially oriented linguistics, this perspec-
40

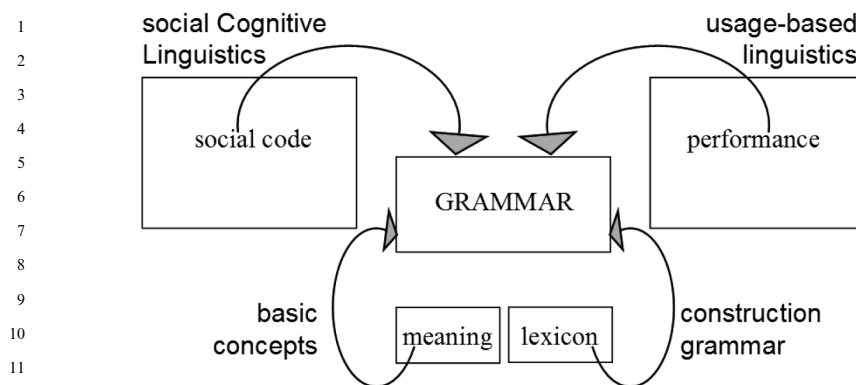


Figure 2. The reintroduction of context features into Cognitive Linguistics

tive links up with interactionist sociolinguistics and ethnomethodology rather than with variationist sociolinguistics (as was the case on the third level of analysis). In Cognitive Linguistics circles, representatives of this approach tend to take some of their inspiration from Clark (1996): see Croft (2009), and most elaborately, Tomasello (2003) on the interactionist nature of language acquisition.

Figure 2 offers a schematic representation of the reintroduction of the four crucial context factors into the grammar as conceived of by Cognitive Linguistics. The external boxes in the figure indicate the four elements as we discussed them above, and the labelled arrows represent the reintroduitory movements by means of keywords.

3.2. *Stages in the expansion of Cognitive Linguistics and the chronological recovery of context*

The previous section demonstrates that Cognitive Linguistics indeed embodies the recontextualizing trends in contemporary linguistics in a singular way: all the aspects of recontextualization that we identified in our overview of the history of 20th century linguistics are substantially covered by Cognitive Linguistics; even more importantly, they determine core features of Cognitive Linguistics, like the importance of meaning for grammatical description and the choice for a usage-based approach. Now, if recontextualization is indeed a core feature, would it also be the case that the internal development of Cognitive Linguistics is characterized by a gradual expansion towards the various forms of recontextualization that we distinguished? Does recontextualization not only portray Cognitive

1 Linguistics at large, against the broad canvas of modern linguistics, but
 2 does it also characterize its internal growth? Does the internal evolution
 3 of Cognitive Linguistics take the form of a progressive recovery of the
 4 various types of context?

5 To answer that question, we first need to have a look at the history of
 6 Cognitive Linguistics from the point of view of the sociology of science:
 7 if we look at it from an external point of view (not with a focus on
 8 the development of ideas and theories, but with a focus on the people it
 9 mobilizes, the public appeal it exerts, the organizational and institutional
 10 entrenchment it achieves), what are the main periods in its development?
 11 The seeds of Cognitive Linguistics were planted some thirty years ago: Len
 12 Talmy published his “figure and ground” paper in 1975, Ron Langacker
 13 started working on his Cognitive Grammar in 1976, and George Lakoff
 14 published his “linguistic gestalts” article in 1977.

15 But the real public life and the international expansion of Cognitive
 16 Linguistics started about ten years later. The year 1987 is an outspoken
 17 landmark, with the publication of Lakoff’s *Women, Fire, and Dangerous*
 18 *Things*, and the first volume of Langacker’s *Foundations of Cognitive*
 19 *Grammar*. In 1988, Brygida Rudzka edited the seminal *Topics in Cognitive*
 20 *Linguistics* volume, and in 1989, John Taylor published his *Linguistic*
 21 *Categorization*, which is still one of the best readable introductions to
 22 Cognitive Linguistics. 1989 is important in another sense as well: it is the
 23 year that the first International Cognitive Linguistics Conference (ICLC)
 24 took place in Duisburg, Germany. It was one of the so-called LAUD
 25 symposia (where LAUD stands for Linguistic Agency of the University
 26 of Duisburg) that had been organized by René Dirven since 1977 and
 27 where some of the world’s most distinguished linguists were invited to
 28 present their work. So in 1989, René Dirven (whose role in the inter-
 29 national expansion of Cognitive Linguistics can hardly be underestimated)
 30 invited Lakoff and Langacker for a “Symposium on Cognitive Linguis-
 31 tics”. The Duisburg conference was of crucial importance for the institu-
 32 tionalization and the international expansion of Cognitive Linguistics: it
 33 was there and then that the International Cognitive Linguistics Associa-
 34 tion was founded (the conference was accordingly rebaptized as the First
 35 International Cognitive Linguistics Conference), that plans were made to
 36 launch the journal *Cognitive Linguistics*, and that the monograph series
 37 *Cognitive Linguistics Research* was announced.

38 The next twenty years can be roughly divided into two more periods of
 39 ten years. The first ten years leading to the present situation – roughly, up
 40 to 1997 – were years of international consolidation. The whole approach

demonstrated its viability on the international forum, in a number of senses: the newly founded journal was able to attract high-quality contributions, and the successful series of biannual ICLC conferences proved that there was a broad interest in the framework.

The years from, say, 1997 up to now were marked by the international institutionalization of Cognitive Linguistics; the whole framework got firmly entrenched in the international fabric of linguistic studies. This is most clear if you look at the emergence of national ICLA affiliates. These are ICLA branches defined by region or country (and occasionally by language). The first one to be founded was the Spanish Cognitive Linguistics Association (1998), whose affiliation was formally approved at the 1999 ICLC. The year 2001 saw the affiliation of the Finnish, the Polish, and the Slavic Cognitive Linguistics Associations. Further affiliates include the Russian Association of Cognitive Linguists (2004), the German Cognitive Linguistics Association (2005), the Discourse and Cognitive Linguistics Association of Korea (2005), the Association Française de Linguistique Cognitive (2005), the Japanese Cognitive Linguistics Association (2005), the Conceptual Structure, Discourse and Language Association (2005), the UK Cognitive Linguistics Association (2006), the Chinese Association for Cognitive Linguistics (2006), and Benecla, the Cognitive Linguistics association of Belgium and The Netherlands (2008).

Another unmistakable sign of the institutionalization of Cognitive Linguistics is the number of introductory books and reference works published in the last decade: Ungerer and Schmid was first published in 1996, Dirven and Verspoor in 1998, Violi in 2001, Croft and Cruse in 2004, Evans and Green in 2006, the *Basic Readings* collection and the companion volume edited by Kristiansen, Achard, Dirven and Ruiz de Mendoza in 2006, Geeraerts and Cuyckens in 2007. Next to *Cognitive Linguistics*, the *Annual Review of Cognitive Linguistics* provides a second journal specifically dedicated to publications in Cognitive Linguistics.

Given this classification into three periods of more or less ten years each (a foundational one, a period of expansion, and a period of institutionalization), is there any correlation with the internal development, in terms of ideas and theoretical constructs? In very general terms, it would seem to be the case that the major steps in the recovery of context are situated in the past decade. After the foundational first decade, the second decade, up to the middle of the 1990s, focused on the basic notions of cognitive semantics: prototypes, radial networks, conceptual metaphor, image schemas, and the various aspects of Langacker's and Talmy's construal-based grammars.

Table 2. Nine topical items in the Cognitive Linguistics Bibliography, divided over five-year periods

	77–81	82–86	87–91	92–96	97–01	02–06
<i>No. of articles</i>	247	591	1093	1647	2416	2557
Meaning	23	66	137	275	458	603
Semantics	15	53	128	201	281	300
Construction	9	28	66	150	295	439
Usage-based	0	0	4	2	16	48
Discourse	13	23	62	141	255	394
Pragmatic(s)	6	19	37	98	162	209
Sociolinguistic(s)	2	0	4	3	15	42
Social	7	13	38	61	127	176
Cultural	2	5	38	87	159	240

In the third decade, however, we witness a broadening of the type of context that is deemed relevant: the majority of the publications that were mentioned above under the rubric of “lexicon”, “usage”, and “social context” are situated in the second half of the 1990s and the beginning of the new millennium. The initial insight of Cognitive Linguistics is that the semantics of natural language expressions needs to be studied in a broader cognitive context: individual meanings are part of polysemous structures, of frames, of Idealized Cognitive Models – whatever structure the experiential basis of language takes. Moving beyond this initial cognitive context, the previous decade has introduced the context of use in its various forms: in the attention for the performative usage level as the dialectic basis of grammar, in the attention for the lexicon as the embodiment of abstract grammatical patterns, in the attention for the social context of language.

That the wave of types of research contextualizing grammar came after a first wave of research exploring the semantics of language also becomes clear when we have a look at the presence of certain topics in the Cognitive Linguistics Bibliography compiled by René Dirven (The Cognitive Linguistics Bibliography is made available annually as an electronic addition to the journal *Cognitive Linguistics*). Table 2 lists the frequencies of topical items in the bibliography, divided over five-year periods. The items

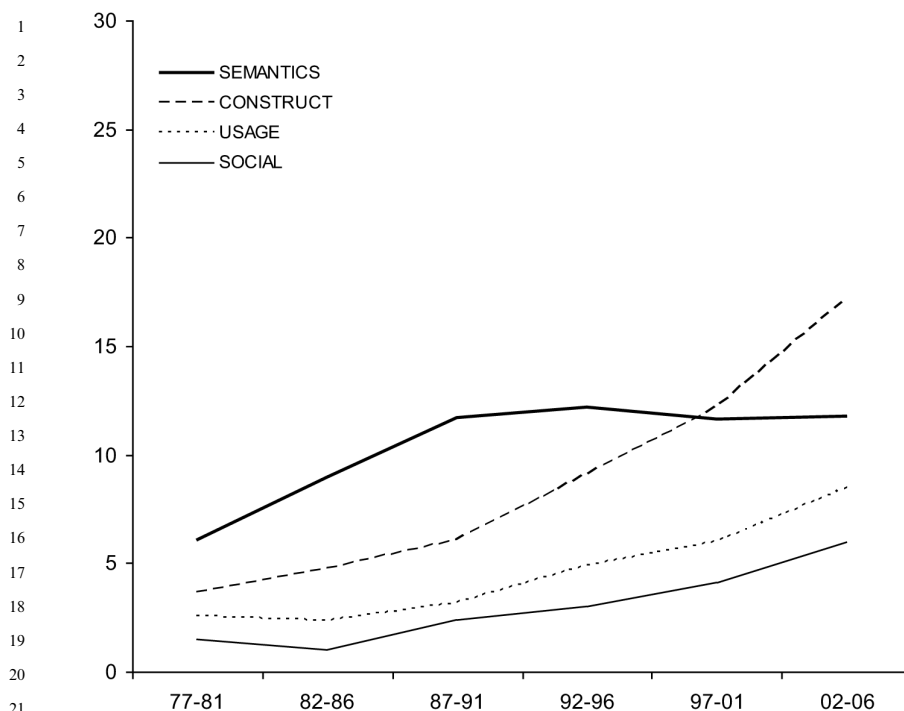


Figure 3. The development of recontextualizing themes in the Bibliography of Cognitive Linguistics

may be grouped into four groups corresponding to the four types of contextualization that we distinguished earlier: meaning and semantics under the label semantics, construction under the label construct(ion grammar), usage-based, discourse, and pragmatic(s) under the label usage, and socio-linguistic(s), social and cultural under the label social. We then calculate the proportion of each item with regard to number of articles in each period, and average over the items in each group.

If we then trace the development of the four groups over time, as is done in Figure 3, we can indeed confirm that the interest in meaning comes first in the development of Cognitive Linguistics, while the interest in constructions, in usage-based models, in the social context of language takes off later. Also, while the attention for meaning has reached a stable level since the beginning of the 1990s, the focus on the other three forms of recontextualization is still increasing. (It should be noted that, while it is straightforward to have a look at the temporal development of the lines,

1 we should be careful with a direct comparison of the level of the lines
 2 among each other. The figures give the proportion of articles that contain
 3 one of the topical keywords, calculated against the total number of articles
 4 in a given period. However, because different keywords may occur together
 5 within the same article, any given article may be referred to more than
 6 once at a certain point in time.)

7 8 9 **4. Cognitive Linguistics in Context**

10
11 So far, we have established two crucial things. First, thinking about
 12 Cognitive Linguistics in terms of the recontextualization of grammar
 13 adequately captures the singular position of Cognitive Linguistics in the
 14 context of contemporary linguistics. If post-Chomskyan linguistics is
 15 characterized by an emerging tendency to reintroduce into the grammar
 16 those aspects of context that were discarded as irrelevant by hardcore
 17 generativism, then Cognitive Linguistics may be seen to embody that
 18 tendency in an outspoken way. All the relevant features – meaning,
 19 the lexicon, the level of performance and language use, and the social
 20 context – are saliently present in the theoretical and descriptive apparatus
 21 of Cognitive Linguistics. And some of them, like the importance of mean-
 22 ing and the usage-based character of linguistics, even belong to the core
 23 beliefs of Cognitive Linguistics.

24 Second, thinking about Cognitive Linguistics in terms of the recontext-
 25 ualization of grammar not only helps to determine its external position in
 26 the context of linguistics at large, it also sheds a revealing light on the
 27 internal development of the framework. Parallel to the sociological expansion
 28 of Cognitive Linguistics as an international movement, we observe an
 29 internal expansion that is driven by the gradual recovery of context. The
 30 conceptual drift of Cognitive Linguistics (if we may use that term) seems
 31 to reside precisely in the recontextualizing movement.

32 It appears, in other words, that recontextualization is a common denomi-
 33 nator that keeps together – at least conceptually speaking – the various
 34 branches of Cognitive Linguistics that are being developed in an era of
 35 massive international expansion. But if, coming back to the introduction
 36 to this article, recontextualization can indeed be seen as the schematic
 37 node overarching the radial network of cognitive approaches, does that
 38 theoretical common denominator suffice to keep Cognitive Linguistics
 39 together on a practical and sociological level? Will the centripetal force
 40 of an underlying trend be stronger than the centrifugal forces that are

1 inherent in a radial development, where each separate topic of interest
 2 may start to develop into a domain of investigation and a sociological
 3 network of its own?

4.1. *Cognitive Linguistics as a scientific paradigm*

7 To see more clearly why there might be a difficulty, we may have a look at
 8 what the sociology of science has to say about the lifecycle of theories.
 9 Indeed, if we see Cognitive Linguistics as a paradigm in the sense of
 10 Kuhn's theory of science, and if we then apply a sociological perspective
 11 to the development of the paradigm, we inevitably come across one of
 12 the most intriguing questions in the sociology of science: what determines
 13 the lifecycle of scientific paradigms, (sub)disciplines and specialties? There
 14 are various lifecycle models in the sociology of science, but for the present
 15 purposes, it may suffice to have a look at the one that is presented in
 16 De Mey (1992). It distinguishes between four stages.

17 In the pioneering stage, the paradigm is formulated. The methodologi-
 18 cal and rhetorical justification focuses on the originality of the approach.
 19 The organization of the field is informal at most.

20 In the building stage, the paradigm works according to the "normal
 21 science" model described by Kuhn: the basic tenets are accepted without
 22 questioning by the adherents; research is geared towards productively
 23 showing the applicability of the approach. At the same time, an organiza-
 24 tional structure is set up, in the form of journals and conferences.

25 The third stage, that of internal criticism, has a two-sided character. On
 26 the one hand, it is a period of conceptual organization: the findings that
 27 were reached somewhat disorderly during the building stage have to
 28 receive a place within the overall framework; you might say: the body of
 29 knowledge accumulated in the building stage needs to be consolidated
 30 within the theoretical fabric of the paradigm. This is typically the stage,
 31 then, in which textbooks and reference works appear.

32 On the other hand, the third stage is also the period in which the inter-
 33 nal anomalies of the paradigm become apparent. The initial confirmation
 34 has been carried through massively in the building stage, so that the atten-
 35 tion may now shift to the resistant problems. Those problems may inspire
 36 new research and new ideas within the paradigm, but they may also lead
 37 some people to question the overall approach and perhaps abandon the
 38 framework.

39 In the final stage, that of external criticism, the internal problems have
 40 become so important that the paradigm loses its attractiveness. Although

1 the existing institutional organization may ensure a prolonged existence of
 2 the framework, it has stopped to grow, and it loses terrain with regard to
 3 newer, more appealing alternatives.

4 Now, if we accept this classification, it is obvious that Cognitive
 5 Linguistics has moved beyond the pioneering stage (the first decade) and
 6 the building stage (the second and third decade). The current situation, at
 7 the end of the third decade of its existence, definitely exhibits at least one
 8 side of the third stage mentioned by De Mey: we are living in a period of
 9 consolidation, in the form of textbooks and reference works. In fact, a
 10 retrospective article like the present one is probably typical of this stage
 11 in the development: one aspect of the consolidating movement is the effort
 12 to provide clear overviews of the history of the discipline.

14 4.2. *Cognitive Linguistics within cognitive science*

16 If this is correct, we also need to ask the question whether the other
 17 aspects of the third stage of development – a growing awareness of
 18 outstanding problems, increasing tensions between potentially rival ap-
 19 proaches, fragmentation into independent subdisciplines – are part of the
 20 current situation in Cognitive Linguistics. If recontextualization is at the
 21 center of Cognitive Linguistics, is there any indication that the centre
 22 may not hold? To round off this discussion of the basic tendencies within
 23 Cognitive Linguistics, we may try to identify a number of factors that
 24 could either constitute a threat or a safeguard for the unity of Cognitive
 25 Linguistics.

26 On the negative side, we may observe that the thematic unity of Cogni-
 27 tive Linguistics as a recontextualizing approach to grammar is as yet
 28 a highly schematic one, which is not accompanied by an outspoken
 29 tendency towards theatrical unification or the development of appropriate
 30 methods.

31 First, building a unified theory has never been a prominent feature of
 32 Cognitive Linguistics. Cognitive linguists work with a number of key
 33 notions that are motivated by general assumptions about language and
 34 cognition, but the exact relationship between many concepts and ap-
 35 proaches within Cognitive Linguistics is still unclear. How exactly do a
 36 Langacker-type approach and a Talmy-type approach to grammar relate
 37 to each other? On which points are they notational variants, on which
 38 points are they compatible, on which points are they in opposition to
 39 each other? And if there is an incompatibility, what kind of evidence could
 40 decide between the two? Similar questions may be asked about Concep-

1 tual Metaphor Theory and a Mental Spaces approach: in some respects,
 2 the latter is an extension of the former, but could it completely replace
 3 Conceptual Metaphor Theory or not? Further, what about the different
 4 ways in which the crucial components of recontextualization (like the
 5 different forms of socially oriented Cognitive Linguistics)? In short, there
 6 are lots of theoretical issues in Cognitive Linguistics that need further
 7 clarification. Progress in Cognitive Linguistics now basically takes the
 8 form of developing and applying one or the other central concept or well
 9 established approach. Now that Cognitive Linguistics is reaching a mature
 10 age, systematic attempts at theory formation are called for.

11 Second, if we can agree that Cognitive Linguistics is essentially character-
 12 ized by a recontextualizing “drift”, there are specific consequences with
 13 regard to the observational basis and the analytical method of linguistic
 14 research. If one takes a usage-based model of the grammar seriously, one
 15 will have to study actual language use. In terms of the observational basis
 16 of Cognitive Linguistics, this suggests a shift from introspective concep-
 17 tual analysis to the study of non-elicited language use, as epitomized by
 18 corpus linguistics, and to the study of on line processes, as epitomized by
 19 experimental research. Further, if one wishes to investigate how diverse
 20 factors like meaning, structure, discourse and lectal variation interact,
 21 the sheer complexity of the phenomena calls for appropriate analytic
 22 methods, i.e. for a shift towards quantitative testing of hypotheses. The
 23 complexity of a fully recontextualized grammar requires a methodology
 24 that goes beyond the traditional reliance on introspection: disentangling
 25 the effect of the various contextual factors that enter into the constitution
 26 of actual language use requires an advanced quantitative analysis that is
 27 able to capture the multivariate nature of linguistic usage. Now, while
 28 there are various indications for such an “empirical turn” in Cognitive
 29 Linguistics, the tendency is not dominant, and explicit defenses of an
 30 empirical approach are countered by equally outspoken defenses of intro-
 31 spection (cf., for instance, Geeraerts 2006a and Talmy 2007). Such a
 32 “methodenstreit”, if it continues, would obviously not contribute to the
 33 unity of the framework.

34 In contrast with the absence of outspoken internal tendencies towards
 35 theoretical and methodological unification, there is an external factor
 36 that is likely to contribute strongly to the integrity of Cognitive Linguis-
 37 tics: the recontextualizing trend that we have identified as the unifying
 38 factor within the theoretical and methodological pluralism of Cognitive
 39 Linguistics is not restricted to linguistics. It is, in fact, a growing tendency
 40 within the cognitive sciences at large. In an overview article charting the

development of cognitive psychology, Wagemans (2005) characterizes the recent evolution of cognitive science with two well-chosen phrases: “downward into the brain” and “outward into the environment”. By thinking of the human mind as a machine algorithmically manipulating symbols, the traditional paradigm of cognitive science (as it arose in the 1960s) isolates the mind both from the brain and the environment. By contrast, in the contemporary developments within cognitive psychology, “intelligence became embodied again and cognition became situated in its context again” (Wagemans 2005: 359). The parallelism with Cognitive Linguistics is striking, and fits entirely into Sinha’s (2007) argument that Cognitive Linguistics is part of “second generation cognitive science”, just like generative linguistics (the culmination in the decontextualization of grammar) belonged to the cognitive revolution of the late 1950s and 1960s.

The recontextualizing tendency in cognitive science at large will undoubtedly buttress the recontextualizing drift in Cognitive Linguistics. But at the same time, the question concerning the internal cohesion of Cognitive Linguistics receives a different interpretation when we consider Cognitive Linguistics in the context of cognitive science: what is important from this perspective is not primarily internal cohesion as such, but rather the way in which Cognitive Linguistics may optimally contribute to the interdisciplinary development of a contextualized cognitive science. But that, of course, is a task for the next thirty years.

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